### Who's Who Against America

### Victor Berger of Milwaukee

Continued from page 1

tion) the sum total st was if it appeared. formidable. Mr. Berra always at-tributed his defeat for Congress to the

time on he became more or less pro- or imagined, of American rights by fessedly pro-German. He began by Mexico, his voice was as the voice of playing the game of Germany in Amer- a dove when it came to a question of ica in its various hidden or half-hidden German aggressions. His message to phases. He ended by sneering at the his fellow Americans, after the Lusi-United States as "this star-spangled tania tragedy, is summed up in the country" controlled by capital, by se- caption of his editorial, "Keep Off." ditious denunciation of the govern- In this he says: ment and by advocating methods against the war which, if carried out, would have consituted something graver than sedition. Berger's second phase, after his renunciation of a would-be benevolent neutrality, is best studied in his vagaries upon the question of military service and activity.

#### By Instinct a German Militarist

Though a professed adherent of all the accepted Socialistic doctrines, Berger is by instinct a militarist in the German sense. That is part of his selfindued Prussianism. He praises Theodore Roosevelt for his "Prussian" idealism (the quotation marks being Mr. Berger's own). He is even a conscriphe has preached, "can turn even con- wealthy minority can afford the lux- lished dispatch, with an Amsterdam scription into a cornerstone of the ury of travelling. The majority, the date line! party faith," and declared that the Wilson is anxious to uphold." party should "map out a course of ac- To What He tion in case of war," As into as the be- Most Responds Socialists are with things." In fact, he followed his for- struggle against England. Butsighted and patriotic fel'ow-Socialist Charles Edward Russell about half way, and then stopped abruptly, for a reason suggested in one of his own editorials:

Russell is undoubtedly wrong in foreseeing a German invasion, but he is right in his opinion that the Socialist party cannot please itself to utter defencelessness and helplessness and still appeal to the common sense of the Ameridan people."

In that first sentence Berger reveals his underlying principle. With pre- With that characteristically infantile paredness, universal service, even contermined military activity. But if it became a question of war with Germany he straightway puts on the feathers of the dove and turns pacifist. To Victor L. Berger a world victory To Victor L. Berger a world victory for Germany is not among the things "worse than hell." A curious historical parallel has been pointed out by one of Berger's former adherents. Up to the time when the assault on Verdun was seen to be a failure Berger was a militarist. He was profoundly committed in his own mind to the belief that the fall of Verdun would mark the opening of the last phase of war, a phase which assured an overwhelming German victory. In this event spirit of Germany, and declares his there was no prospect of the United conviction that it and the country States being drawn in. It would all which it permeates are unconquerable. he over too soon. Hence military preparedness here could not threaten Ger- countries have declared in favor of many. But with the successful defence more war, have rejected the talk of of Verdun the war lengthened indeterminately, in prospect. Martial equipment on this side of the water might crushed. This cannot be done witheventually be turned against the out crushing the German nation; it Fatherland. Berger first dropped his cannot be done at all unless the Germilitarism, then became an anti-mili- man nation itself does it." farthest extreme, once this nation had Teutonic sentiment in this country to frantically denouncing the principle of vestments. all right-thinking Socialists.

### A Hearst-Like Attitude

Toward Mexico the familiar methods of suggestion and class. It is too late to call the bet gression Berger seized upon and ma- even in the shape of interest." nipulated with all the power of his Again: considerable journalistic ingenuity. To him any movement on the part of the that may fling the nation at any United States in the direction of war against Germany was a capitalistic chasm would take away the observscheme. High finance in this country was urging the nation into it for purely selfish reasons. Besides there was technicalities of international law Mexico provoking us beyond reason or stands J. Pierpont Morgan, official patience. Were we to remain supine while the Mexicans invaded our territory and killed our citizens? Upon this matter of war with Mexicowhich, of course, would have been Germany's hest safeguard against interference on the part of the United To Hearstism States with her schemes the editor of

quent in such passages as these: "It is such a common thing for our Southern neighbors to kill Americans under the rhetorical regime at Washington that a dozen Americans, moré or less, do not

"The American border citizens declare that the Wilson Administration | than those of a common love for the has not only shown a disregard for arch enemy of this country. That American lives in Mexico, but also would be merely sentiment of a perfor American lives in the border- verse sort, But sentiment alone does racy. France and Russia had a con-

lands of the United States."

war upon Mexico Berger chimed in with his feeble effort to stir up hosled for some days a highly harassed tility. He even adopted the Hearst and explanatory existence Thereafter slogan, "America First." He characfor months, no matter how definitely terized the opposition to an invasion the cable news justified or necessitated across the Rio Grande by our troops it, if a headline giving credit to the as cheap talk on the part of "poli-Allies for any degree of success ap- ticians who think more of votes than peared in The Leader, another outburst of American lives." In fact, he had of Germanic indignation followed. As actually written an editorial calling for certainly 50 per cent of the populace a declaration of war upon Mexico, and were pro-German at the inception of was prevented from publishing it only holders of record in The Milwaukee the war (this condition has markedly by the firm protest of his associates Lender. changed since the American declara- on the paper, who threatened to resign

resentment aroused by his one attempt Dove Toward Germany Violent though the Milwaukee So-He promptly abandoned it. From that cialist was toward any invasion, real

> "The American citizen that travels upon a belligerent liner, armed or unarmed, with the expectation that the government of the United States can or will protect him, is leaning upon a broken reed. In common decency, then, the Congress should warn Americans to keep off, and not let them go to their deaths, to be wrangled over, and the price to be paid haggled over, in an endless series of diplomatic notes between Berlin and Washington."

Later Mr. Berger's highly Germanized mind misgives him that Americans ought not, in common fairness, wish them to travel.

ginning of 1916 he was preaching this To any movement calculated to posite course. Our entry into the war sort of doctrine: "But the Socialist hamper the Allies in their waging of inflamed not its patriotism but its party is not for peace at any price. war Berger instantly responds. He angry hostility. Within a fortnight War may be hell, but there are things, is profoundly sympathetic to Finland after the declaration it was editorially in this world worse than hell. Real in its efforts to free itself from Rus- supporting the seditious and inflamma-Socialists are willing to fight these sian control, and to Ireland in its tory platform of the Socialists' St. Louis "Whether the American Socialist

party is justified, however, to call for a dissolution of Austria-Hungary is another question. Because, supposing a Bohemian and Slovak principality is cut out of Austria-Hungary, what is to happen to the millions of Germans and Magyara now living among them? Are they, in turn, to be oppressed in the future?"

Always Berger is for Germany. conceit of the Teuton mind, he bescription, he was content enough, so lieves that all other nationalities long as all this pointed to an unde- must admire Kaiserdom as he himself Socialist party to "unyielding opposihad ever before been felt toward any to continuous efforts other nationality, Mr. Berger emits of such laws, and to the support of all

> "The great body of the American people have come to appreciate the weakness of unrestrained individualism. to admire the efficiency of socialized Germany and respect the loyalty and devotion of the German people to their fatherland." Junkerism he sees as the prevailing

. Socialists in all other peace with the justification that Prussian militarism must first be

tarist and eventually went to the Incidentally, Berger attributes antitaken up arms against Germany, of the slarm of Wall Street over its in-

war as capitalistic and abhorrent to "The war has gone against American money lenders," his "Leader" announced in March of 1916. "They bet a big wad on the Allies to win, but the Meantime he had been carrying on outlook has been for some time that Germany's campaign in America by their favorites will be in the also-ran indirection. Whatever would serve to off. The money is gone. Rumor has divert attention from Germany's ag- it that it may never come back, not

"The sickly wavering in a matter moment into the European war er's breath if he did not know that back of the petty haggling over agent of John Bull, bound to use the government of the United States for the benefit of England, regardless of the cost to the American people."

### It Is Cousin German

The Leader waxes sardonically elo- ly reminiscent tone? War upon Mexico-admiration for the German character and cause hatred of England attribution of anti-Teutonic feeling here to Wall Street-it all sums up into the policy of William Randolph Hearst. Bergerism is cousin-German to Hearstism. Nor is evidence lacking that the ties between them are more

kee Leader from the office of Hearst's New York Journal, if Berger himself is to be believed. More than once, when the Leader has been hard pressed. 'rule of the seven seas' and her pre-Berger has visited New York, gone to the Journal office and come back with the strain upon his anxiety and his of losing to the Germans." treasury relieved. On such occasions he has been heard to say:

"When I get really hard up I can go to Arthur Brisbane and get money to pull the paper through."

#### Imitating the Hearst-Brisbane Camouflage

Arthur Brisbane is Hearst's chief editorial writer and right hand man. Arthur Brisbane is one of the stock-

In the cause of Germany Berger is not above imitating Hearst in one of the latter's least admirable trickeries, that of juggling date lines and falsifying foreign news. By a queer coincidence (probably) Berger chose as the subject for one of these disreputable operations the Jutland naval battle, which Hearst also faked so boldly that he was detected in his knavery. date line of London, June 3, 1916, Berger's Leader published what purported to be an official list of the British naval losses. It included the super-dreadnought Warspite. The authentic British official report of that date specifically stated that the Warspite had not been sunk, but was "safe at her base." Where Mr. Berger got his London date line he best knows himself.

Possibly it came from the same repository as the Amsterdam heading which appeared in The Leader over some "foreign" correspondence about conditions in Belgium. An ex-lieutenant of the German navy, who had been employed on the Leader staff by Perger because his other writers were not sufficiently pro-German, had written what he had intended to be an editorial pointing out how the poor to travel where the Kaiser does not Belgians had been abused by their own government and how much better off "The rights of American citizens to they were under the benevolent conone, and points out that "the land of the greatest conscription army, Ger- moralizes, "endanger the rights to took this editorial, read it and laid it many, also has the strongest Socialist peace of those American citizens who aside. When its astonished author "Wisconsin Socialists," do not travel at all. Only a small, next saw it it was in the form of a pub-

common citizens, have no opportunity It has been the record of most of the jeered at the "pacifists in the Socialist" to travel. It is not the right of the foreign-language pro-German press party who have made pacifism a test of American majority that President that however violent before the United States declared war it then became, if not more patriotic, at least more cautious. The foreign-spirited, alienhearted Leader, however, took the opconvention, whose adoption, on the day when war was formally declared, drove out of the party such men as Russell, Spargo, Stokes, Walling and, in Wisnsin, Berger's own associates, Gaylord and Simons. The following are extracts from the platform:

"We therefore call upon the workers of all countries to refuse support to their governments in their

"We brand the declaration of war by our government as a crime against the people of the United States and against the nations of the world." Further, the platform pledged the this bleat of sheeplike complacency: mass movements in opposition to conscription"; also to work for "concerted and harmonious mass action to shorten the war."

#### Berger and Hillquit At St. Louis

It is Berger's boast that he and Morris Hillquit, of New York, mainly were responsible for the character of the platform. Both were members of the mmittee on resolutions.

As if to still any doubts in the minds of his German followers as to where The Leader would stand on this country's declaration of war, Berger published on April 27 of this year an editorial wherein this passage is found:

"It is not for our country to convince the Germans by force of arms -a people as intelligent and as edueated as ours in every respect-what form of government the Germans are to have. If the Germans do not want monarchy and nobility-they must abolish them. It would be tyrannical and unjust for us to force upon Germany through terrible bloodshed a certain form of government they may not want. As for democracy-the German Social-Democracy is surely infinitely more democratic than Woodrow Wilson and his Southern planters or Pierpont Morgan and his Northern bankers, with Elihu Root and Theodore Roosevelt thrown into the bargain."

In past years Berger had not hesitated to criticise Germany and its imperial government. Now that we were at war, however, he can see nothing but good in, and advance nothing but justification of, the enemy. Take, for example, the following:

"Why does all the world fight Germany just now? The answer is very simple. Germany at the present day is the only country where the capitalist class has comparatively little influence upon the government. The capitalists hope to force a capitalist republic upon Germany."

"The fact of the matter is that the French people are not fighting for democracy any more than do the Madagascar negroes whom the French have forcibly enlisted. The French government was preparing since 1871 for 'revenge' and to get back the overwhelmingly German Alsace-Lorraine, if possible. The French had an alliance with the Russian Czar for that purpose and not for democnot maintain a newspaper. Something tract to help one another fight Ger-When the Hearst papers yelled for more substantial is necessary, and that many whenever one or the other

later on joined the alliance-since then called the 'entente.' England did so-in order to keep her absolute ponderance in the world market, which the English were on the point

#### Some Milwaukee

Leader Rhetoric has only contempt. Over and over of liberty." again he rings the changes upon the charge that this is a capitalists' war, October 12, "has been plunged into a to which the people are strongly op- needless war." posed. Following are typical examples:

"In fact, the great majority of the neople are either actively or passively against it. Those who oppose the war are the true genuine Americans. They are the true genuine Americans because they are working for the best interests of the American peo-

"Our autocratic rulers gave us what in their opinion we should have, instead of letting us decide that question for ourselves. Having thus denied us the most fundamental democracy in our own country, it is scandalous for them to assert that. the war is a war for democracy. They might as well talk about black

"This world war is an imperialistic war. It is the war of the capitalist class of Great Britain, which is fighting for the 'imperium' of the world-the rule of the world-with the ruling class of Germany. And the capitalist class of the United States is in partnership with the capitalist class of Great Britain. They were in partnership long before this war-as typically expressed in the banking firm of J. P. Morgan & Co., London and New York."

"What the Allies and Morgan wish to see everywhere is a capitalistic plutocracy of the kind we have in this star-spangled country. But why should working men fight to impose this upon any other nation?"

"Naturally, if the war were openly proclaimed to be what it is-a dollar war-it would necessarily be very unpopular. Therefore, the war fans have to look around for some high ideal upon which they can seize and falsely claim that they are fighting So they have made the lying claim that they are fighting for the advancement of democracy. Thus far the people of the United States, fortunately, are not falling for this lic very readily. The people, in spite of the fact that this falsehood is daily dinned into their ears by the jingo press, are still overwhelmingly opposed to the war. They still smell the dollar in it."

"It is hardly necessary to prove that the war is unpopular. It would seem as if every one should know it. . . . No, the people don't want war. It is a dollar war. They don't like the taste of it and they don't like the smell of it."

That this thing could be permitted to continue indefinitely even Berger. with his long record of license, could hardly expect. to Washington for a hearing before the postal authorities. On October 2 The Leader was barred from the second class mail privilege. Berger's answer to the government was to publish an editorial, headed "The Leader to Continue the Fight for Freedom," in

"And we repeat that the war was caused by the struggle between Great Britain and Germany for con mercial supremacy of the world's trade. The Social Democracy of the world stands for and demands peace! If this be treason-let them make the most of it."

#### Preparing More Drastic Measures

Of course this was not treason, and nobody would ever term it so, as Berger well knew. He was merely making a loud and boastful noise to cheer himself up. But a few days later, on October 9, he had advanced in temerity to the extent of the following:

"It is not because we are fighting for democracy-for we are not. The people of all the warring countries want peace. They are prevented by

their rulers from having peace. The United States is in precisely the same situation as the others. The people want peace. The rulers prevent peace."

And this, in the same issue: "Truly this country has taken the place of Russia. Not the Russia of Kerensky, but the Russia of Nicholas. A few steps more in the direction of reaction and it will be the Russia of Ivan the For our national motive in joining Terrible. . . America, the cradle the Allies the self-declared German of democracy, is becoming the grave

Thus he has continued, on the line of deliberate provocation. With what motive? It is believed that he is shrewdly attempting to goad the authorities into complete suppression of The Leader, thereby martyrizing him as the owner and editor. Unless this is done, the paper is likely to go under, anyway, for its advertisers have been dropping out in numbers since the government stigmatized it as disloyal. To be forced to suspend publication through lack of support would be a poor, unromantic and unsatisfactory climax to the Berger policy. Far better to go down with colors (even the German colors) defiantly waving, a victim to that "autoeracy" which he has so long bearded in its supposed den. Berger the unsuccessful publisher would be a sorry figure as compared with Berger the heroic victim of tyrannous repression. So he rides for a fall. In the highways about the city of

Milwaukee one comes upon an infrequent placard (most of them have been torn down by indignant citizens) on tree, fence or building, reading like this:

War Is Hell-Caused by Capi-

SOCIALISTS WANT PEACE The Milwaukee Leader-Victor L. Berger, Editor

Read the People's Side

That is the up-to-date incarnation of Victor L. Berger, once the support er of universal military service, the complacent accepter of conscription the voice that thundered for reprisals upon Mexico, now the timorous proponent of peace at any price rather than war against Germany.

Victor L. Berger-first, a German; second, a Socialist; third, an American. And the third is a faint and fast-fading remnant!

#### Correspondence School Head Imprisoned for Mails Fraud

BOSTON, Nov. 3.—Forrest O. Copithorne, president of "The School of Successful Salesmanship," was convicted to-day of using the mails to defraud and sentenced by Federal Judge Morton to eight months in the Plumouth fail lymouth jail. It was charged that Conithorne ad-

vertised a course in salesmanship which would qualify students for high-class work and agreed to provide positions for graduates. In most cases, the government claimed, he failed to live up to his agreement. Witnesses from many parts of New England tes-tified.

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